

# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe*

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## Invasion Attempt Is Still A Possibility

**Nazis Continue Rehearsals for Landing in England While R.A.F. Blasts Bases**

### ODDS NOW FAVOR BRITAIN

**But Germans Strive First to Weaken Resistance by War at Sea and on Other Fronts**

As we go to press there is still no clear-cut indication as to where and how Hitler plans to stage the final showdown of his war against Britain. Though preparations for a big Balkan campaign are still progressing, as well as lesser preparations in the west—which might be interpreted as foreshadowing a sudden dash through Spain toward Gibraltar or Portugal—these are probably not fronts upon which Britain can be decisively defeated. More important than either the Balkans or Spain, at present, is the Atlantic, where the Germans have concentrated heavy attacks on British shipping ever since March 1. Last week there were reports that Germany's two battle-ships, the *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*, and perhaps other large naval vessels, have joined in the attack.

#### Preparations for Invasion

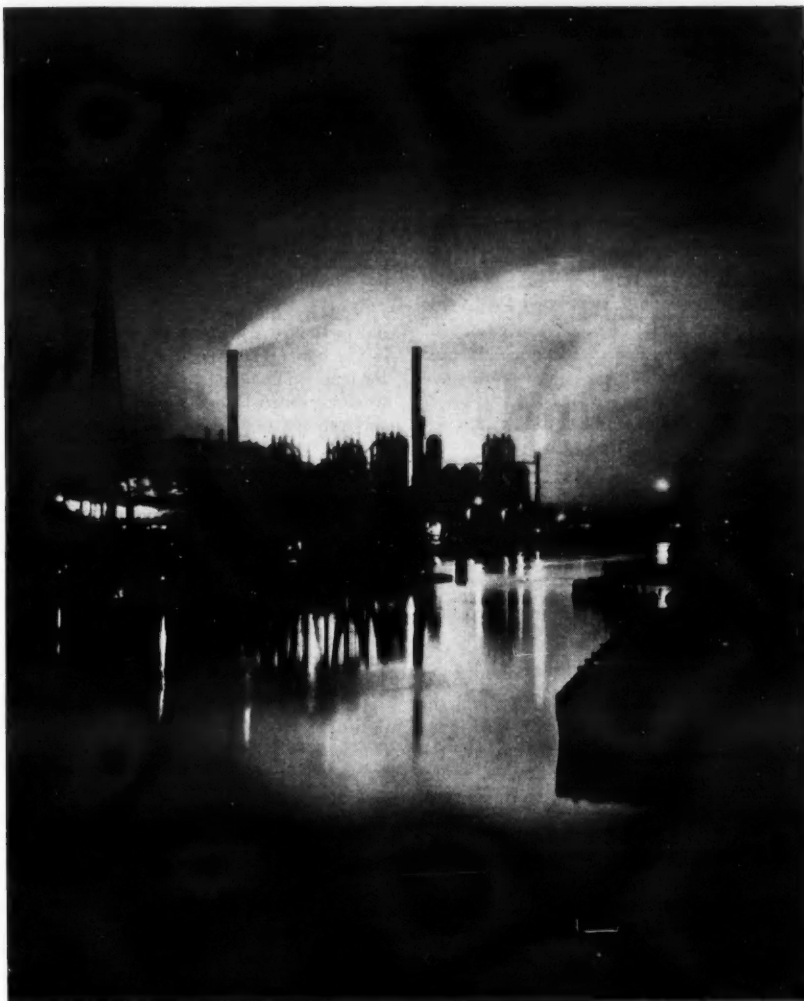
But in spite of all this activity, preparations for an invasion of Britain are still going forward, all along Hitler's "invasion coast," from Norway to the Bay of Biscay. Night after night British bombers continue to pound the ports most likely to be used as springboards for invasion, in France, Belgium, and Holland. Day after day the German army continues to assemble big barges and to practice with them. A report from Sweden last week told of a full-dress rehearsal for invasion by the German army, navy, and air force on the Isle of Rugen, in the Baltic, where Field Marshals von Reichenau and von Kluge watched through binoculars while their troops rolled off ships and barges, and stormed the steep sides of cliffs which closely approximate those along the Dover coast of England.

It is true, of course, that appearances are sometimes deceptive. The R.A.F. bombers attacking the invasion coast are directing at least part of their efforts at destroying Nazi submarines and submarine bases. The German rehearsals may be directed at confusing the British, and at forcing them to keep large naval and air contingents at home, where they can take no part in the battle of the Atlantic, nor in whatever campaigns may develop in the Balkans or Spain.

There are several reasons why Hitler may still try to invade England—even though chances seem to be against any attempt right away. On one hand there is the growing food shortage in Europe, and on the other is the growing volume of aid sent to Britain from the United States. Both of these factors make speed necessary, from a German point of view. As the military correspondent of *Time and Tide*, a London weekly, recently wrote: "The fundamental reason in most people's view for believing the Germans will invade this country is the politico-military one that only in this country can we be decisively defeated and only a decisive defeat will satisfy Hitler."

A real invasion of England, however, would call for an enormous concentration of power and equipment. It would have

(Concluded on page 6)



WIDE WORLD

#### THE LIGHTS OF INDUSTRY BURN BRIGHTLY

Hundreds of industries throughout the nation are working 24 hours a day to produce supplies for the defense of the nation and for Britain.

## The Meaning of Loyalty

By WALTER E. MYER

Many a friendship is broken because of some petty irritation. These irritations will come among all people who associate closely together. There is not one of us who does not have certain annoying habits. There is not one who refrains all of the time from doing things which irritate or injure others. There is no chance that you will have a friend who, on every occasion, will live up to a standard of perfection. Sometime your best friend is going to do something that will disappoint you. He is going to do or say something which you consider to be unworthy of him. What, then, are you going to do about it? Perhaps you will speak angrily. A quarrel or a misunderstanding will result. The friendship may be broken, or perhaps it may not go quite that far. You may not quarrel or have unpleasant words, but you may simply decide that he is not what you thought he was, and you may avoid him. But is that a wise course to follow? Now it may be that the offense is really serious. It may be that his act is of such nature as to indicate a real blemish in character or personality. It is possible that it may reveal something in the friend's character so bad as to render him really unfit for future friendship. In that case, you will be justified in terminating the close association which you have had.

It is most unlikely, though, that you will find anything of the sort if you reflect calmly upon the irritating occurrence. It is most improbable that you have been associating with your friend for a long time wholly unaware of the true nature of his essential characteristics. The chances are that the annoyance is of a relatively trivial nature. Your friend is, after all, the same as he has been. In essentials he is what you thought he was. You have merely discovered a flaw such as may be found in the personality of the very best of us. You should ask very thoughtfully this question: Is the thing I have just found out about my friend something which is really vital in nature? Does it indicate that essentially he is different from what I thought him to be? On the other hand, is it not a fact that the qualities I have admired in him, the qualities which have made him congenial and agreeable and stimulating and interesting are still present? Is it not a fact that he still possesses the traits of character which have made him desirable as a friend? Is it not true that the little defect which was so long hidden will likely slip back into its hiding place again so that I may continue to enjoy and profit by the friendly association which he and I have had in the past? Reflection of that kind will save friendships in nearly every case. If one is going to be deflected from the enjoyment of friendships by trivial acts and occurrences, he is going to be without that very great benefit which comes from long-time and loyal friendships. It is a fine thing to have a few friends whom you will stand by loyally through thick and thin, ignoring minor shortcomings and appreciating larger virtues.

## Roosevelt Outlines Postwar Objectives

**Declares that U. S. Will "Play Its Great Part in the Period of World Reconstruction"**

### SEEKS WORLD OF FREE MEN

**United States Will Not Follow Policy It Did After Last War if the President Has His Way**

As the House of Representatives passed in record time the \$7,000,000,000 appropriations bill to carry out the provisions of the Lend-Lease Act, as the Senate last week placed its stamp of approval upon the measure with an overwhelming majority, as war materials were already on their way to England, it became apparent that the United States government was leaving no stone unturned in its effort to help the British win a victory over Adolf Hitler. The American policy with respect to the war in Europe has thus been clarified by acts of Congress and by declarations of the President. This policy was set forth in some detail in last week's issue of *THE AMERICAN OBSERVER*. It is a policy of throwing the full economic strength of this country on the side of Great Britain. Although we are not technically at war with Germany, we have taken sides in the conflict and are doing everything within our power, short of an actual declaration of war, to bring about her defeat. Whether we will eventually become involved in armed conflict with the Nazis is likely to depend upon the effectiveness of the aid we are now giving to the British.

#### After the War

While our policy with respect to the present war is thus fairly clearly set forth and accepted by a majority of the American people, there is greater uncertainty with respect to the role we as a nation shall play after the war is over. Several times during recent weeks the question has been raised in Congress as to what the war objectives of the British are and as to the terms of peace which the United States would support. Throughout the nation, people are debating the type of world this country should help to establish once the war is over. Proposals for union with Great Britain and the British Empire have been made in public forums and through the printed page. Demands have been made that the United States use its influence in establishing a federated Europe at the conclusion of the war. While there have been few official utterances on the subject of war aims which would be supported by this nation, there has been a considerable amount of attention given to the question of a long-range foreign policy of the United States.

President Roosevelt has himself alluded to this subject in a number of his recent utterances. In his March 15 address explaining the significance of the Lend-Lease Act, for example, he spoke words which may be historic in their importance—words which commit the United States, insofar as the President can commit it—to a broad policy of international cooperation. These are his words:

And when the dictatorships disintegrate—and pray God that will be sooner than any of us dares to hope—then our country must continue to play its great part in the period of world reconstruction.

This declaration marks a departure from recent American practice as far-reaching and important as the abandonment of

(Concluded on page 7)





PEACEMAKERS

A scene in Paris at the time of the Versailles Conference. Woodrow Wilson (right) walks beside Lloyd George and Clemenceau. They were the men who dominated the conference.

## Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

### World War Aims

**A**LTHOUGH the British government has not officially stated its war aims or objectives, few subjects have been more widely debated either in England or this country. This is similar to the situation which prevailed during the World War, for during that period no issue was more hotly debated than the war aims of the belligerent nations. Even before the United States entered the war, considerable thought had been given to the peace settlement and President Wilson had publicly stated on several occasions what he considered acceptable conditions of peace.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

Several months before America entered the war, President Wilson addressed the Senate and outlined the general principles of peace to which the United States would lend its support, as the greatest neutral on earth. "First of all," he said, "it must be a peace without victory. Victory would mean a peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last."

#### Peace Without Victory

The idea of peace without victory, however, was unacceptable to both groups of belligerents. Germany and her associates had embarked upon a program of conquest and they were unwilling to relinquish the territorial gains they had already made. The Allies, for their part, had made commitments in the secret treaties to give territory to Italy and Rumania in return for their support. Thus the "peace without victory" speech came to naught and the war continued until, a few months later, the United States itself was a belligerent.

President Wilson had given considerable thought to the problems of world peace and had sought to work out a formula by which permanent peace could be given to the world. Before the United States became a belligerent in the World War, he held certain definite principles. Foremost among his beliefs was the idea that a concert of nations should be established for the purpose of promoting international cooperation and guaranteeing the peace. In his "peace without victory" address, he held that in the future there must be "not a balance of power, but a community of power, not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace." He held further that "no

covenant of cooperative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war."

#### The Fourteen Points

By far the most comprehensive and the most important statement of war aims made during the entire World War was the famous Fourteen Points, contained in an address by President Wilson on January 8, 1918. Not only did the program outlined by the American President serve to hasten the end of hostilities but it was designed to establish a new world order in which war would be outlawed. The Fourteen Points may be summarized as follows:

1. Open covenants of peace openly arrived at.
2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.
3. Removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.
4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest points consistent with domestic safety.
5. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims.
6. Evacuation of all Russian territory . . . and full opportunity to Russia to determine her own political development and national policy.
7. Evacuation and restoration of Belgium.
8. Liberation of all invaded French territory and restoration of Alsace-Lorraine.
9. Readjustment of the frontiers of Italy along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.
10. Granting to the peoples of Austria-Hungary of the freest opportunity of autonomous development.
11. Evacuation of Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro; provision to Serbia of free access to the sea; international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the Balkan states.
12. Sovereignty for the Turkish portions of the Ottoman Empire; autonomy for other nationalities under Turkish rule; permanent opening of the Dardanelles as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations.
13. An independent Poland, assured of free access to the sea.
14. A general association of nations formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

Wilson's program contemplated continuation of America's participation in world affairs after the war was over. But the American people were unwilling to support the Wilsonian policy. The United States Senate refused to ratify the Versailles Treaty and this country did not become a member of the League of Nations, thus greatly reducing the effectiveness of that organization. The United States returned to a policy of isolation.

## Good Citizenship Begins at Home

**W**HEN we are asked to describe a good citizen we are likely to think of some person who is competent in the performance of his civic duties; who understands public problems, who reads widely, expresses his views forcefully, influences public action. We may think also of the man who pays his taxes willingly, who obeys laws, who is an influence for good in his community.

In thinking of the good citizen in that way, we would be viewing the problem of citizenship sensibly, for the qualities which have been mentioned are important, and we will get along well in the nation and in our communities only if many people—most of the people—possess such qualities. We have indicated the importance we attach to them by speaking of them time and again in this column.

But there is something else which one must do if he is to meet his obligations as a citizen. He must carry his weight in the boat at home. A strong nation must be built upon happy, secure families. It is in order that men, women, and children may be comfortable and happy in their homes that national and local government exists. There is much that government can do to make people happy. It helps them to solve problems which they, acting as individuals and families, cannot solve. It gives them protection, and helps them cooperate with each other. That is why it is important that the good citizen be able to help preserve good government.

But government cannot do everything. There is much that people must do for themselves if they are to get along well and if they are to lay the basis for a strong and enduring nation. That is why we say that good citizenship must begin in the home and must show itself there.

Perhaps we can explain what we are thinking about a little more clearly by use of illustrations. We know a young man who meets admirably the requirements of citizenship in the home, because he has learned how to perform the various operations which make for stable, pleasant living. John proves his worth, day by day, not by big, heroic acts, but by doing small things well; by being competent and even masterful in the face of duties and problems, each of which, taken alone, seems of little consequence, but which, all together, play an important and vital part in life.

For example, if some little thing goes wrong with the furnace, the chances are that John can fix it—not if it is anything serious, but troubles of that kind frequently aren't. Similarly, if there is a slight difficulty with the electric fixtures, it isn't necessary to send for an electrician, for John can probably remove the trouble. If a chair is broken, he mends it. He learned to do that in his manual training classes in high school. If the lawn is not doing well, he probably has an idea of the cause of it. If something goes wrong with the car—something not too fundamental—he fixes it. If his small brother's kite won't work, John takes care of that. If some member of the family has a dispute with a neighbor, John suggests a sensible compromise.

This young man has learned to perform well the duties which everyone has to face in every family. He does well the kind of thing which most people do poorly or not at all. Because of his competence and dependability, everyone in the family is better off. Things go more smoothly and more happily.

John's sister, Evelyn, is similarly competent. She can cook an excellent meal. She knows how to perform all the household operations. She can take care of the laundry work in excellent fashion. If there is an accident, she can administer first aid, and if anyone is ill she seems to know just what to do. People go to her as they do to John with their problems, for she is sensible about those problems, some of them small and some of them not so small, which are encountered day by day and week by week in every family, no matter where the family lives, or what its circumstances are.

John and Evelyn are competent in another field. They have learned how to be intelligent consumers. They know what the family income is, and they can prepare the family budget so as to make income and outgo meet. They can buy wisely so as to make a dollar go as far as possible. They do not buy all the things they want when they have money, only to go without necessities later in the month. They study the family needs as carefully as they study the income, and they buy the things which will give all concerned the most satisfaction in the long run.

If there were more Johns and Evelyns, family life would be more stable. It would be healthier. It would be more pleasant. Households would be run more frugally. Many of the economic problems which beset the average family would be ironed out. Individuals and families would live more harmoniously with their neighbors and would fit better into communities. And if the homes of a community are well managed, many, though not all, of the so-called public problems would in the course of time take care of themselves.



## Test Yourself

Ask yourself these questions. You need not make your answers public. They are for you alone. When you have finished, put the paper containing your answers away; keep also the list of questions. In a few weeks get the list out and take the test again. Then compare your answers with the earlier ones. You can tell in that way whether, after having given the matter thought, you are developing higher standards.



1. Make a list of the kinds of work which must be done about your home—the kinds of skills which are needed in order to perform all the necessary operations. Then check the operations which you can and do perform skillfully.
2. Do you know how to administer first aid in case of a cut, a burn, fainting, poisoning, drowning?
3. Are you a good cook? (Boys as well as girls may answer this question, for it is frequently very convenient for a boy or man to be able to cook.)
4. Do you understand the workings of an automobile engine, so that you can make simple repairs, or, when there is engine trouble, do you immediately take the car to a garage?
5. Suppose the electric lights go out. Do you know how to locate the trouble and do something about it?
6. If you are a girl, do you sew well?
7. Do you know how to care for a lawn or garden?
8. Can you do anything in the way of repairing furniture?
9. On the whole, do you think you are regarded as a "stand-by" in the home; one to whom other members of the family can confidently look for help and support?
10. What have all these matters to do with good citizenship?





CARPENTERS

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## • Vocational Outlook •

### Building Trades

CONDITIONS in the building trades have seldom been more favorable than they are at present. The construction of Army camps, shipyards, new factories, and housing is keeping employment in all the trades at a peak, and this situation will continue for some months.

On the other hand, the building trades are among the first occupations to be hit during bad times. During the years after 1929, construction activity came almost to a standstill. The result was that carpenters, masons, painters, plumbers, and all the rest in the building trades had a difficult time. Consequently, although the skills represented in the building trades differ in degree and in kind, they are grouped under one heading because of similarities in employment conditions.

Recent figures on the numbers engaged in the building trades are rapidly outdated these days. But a survey taken in average times showed a total of more than 2,000,000: carpenters, 900,000; painters, 500,000; plumbers, 238,000; stone and brick masons 171,000; tinsmiths and sheet metal workers, 80,000; plasterers, 70,000; structural iron workers, 29,000; paper hangers, 28,000; roofers and slaters, 24,000.

These workmen are usually hired for the duration of a job and paid by the hour. The trades' most highly paid workers are the bricklayers, who in 1936 received an average hourly wage of \$1.30, three cents more per hour than stone-masons. Carpenters, painters, and paper hangers are paid the least, with carpenters receiving \$1.04 an hour and the others 93 cents.

Similarly, plastering is a little better paid (\$1.29 an hour) than other building trades, but the few extra pennies an hour are offset by fewer hours of work in the course of a year. On the whole, it is safe to say that approximately the same annual income is earned by all members of the building trades. Just what this income is, however, is a matter for speculation.

A clue is offered by an investigation in Ohio some time ago. In that state in 1929, building trades workers earned \$1,668; in 1932, \$982; and in 1933, \$821. For the next year, the average increased to \$959. In the last several years, it has easily been over \$1,000, and this year, if such a survey were taken, it would probably show a rise of several hundred dollars over the \$1,000 level.

It should be remembered, of course, that the Ohio figures do not necessarily have their equals elsewhere. In southern and middle western states, the average may be lower, and in the East and Far West somewhat higher. The ups and downs, however, are probably roughly parallel.

In the light of employment uncertainties, a young man deciding upon one of the building trades as a career should determine before all else that he is to be an excellent workman. Trite as this advice may be, it is nevertheless true that the really

good workers are the last to be laid off. A good way for one to find out his aptitudes along these lines is to take manual training and other shop courses in high school, and judge himself accordingly.

To train for these trades one may either attend a trade school or become an apprentice. Apprenticeship arrangements are made through labor unions, and the regulations vary in the different trades and in different localities. As a rule, one may become an apprentice when he is 16. He receives gradually increasing wages until he reaches the union scale. The advantage of apprenticeship is that one does not have to pay for his training, as he would in trade school, and, moreover, receives a small wage. And although some trade schools give fine training, one is apt to get more practical experience as an apprentice. However, many young men who desire to enter this field are compelled to learn the work in a trade school, because the unions strictly limit apprenticeships.

## The Week at a Glance . . .

### Tuesday, March 18

British forces recaptured Berbera, capital of British Somaliland, from Italians.

For first time in five months, Japanese planes raided Chinese capital of Chungking.

President Roosevelt signed congressional bill appropriating \$1,533,000,000 in additional funds for Army and Navy.

Britain announced that during week ending March 9, her shipping losses were 98,832 tons—a total of 25 vessels.

### Wednesday, March 19

President Roosevelt created 11-man National Defense Mediation Board, with Clarence A. Dykstra as chairman, to handle labor disputes.

House of Representatives approved, 337 to 55, the appropriation of \$7,000,000,000 for lend-lease program, and the bill was rushed to Senate.

U. S. government granted Finland \$5,000,000 credit for foods, and moved to supply food to Britain and unoccupied France.

### Thursday, March 20

London suffered its heaviest raid of the year when German bombers in relays dropped incendiaries and explosives for six hours.

Britain claimed its submarines had sunk two Italian supply ships, as well as practically destroyed another supply ship and a troop transport.

Britain also claimed its troops had taken Italy's entire North African army of 150,000 men under Marshal Graziani.

Senate approved appropriation of \$3,446,990,644 for Navy's maintenance and expansion costs during year beginning July 1.

### Friday, March 21

Yugoslavia was reported to have come to agreement with Axis, but details were lacking, and country was torn by unrest and dispute.

Congress received from the President text of agreement with Canada to develop

St. Lawrence seaway and power project. Final cost, it was said, would reach \$500,000,000.

Seventeen-day strike on construction of aviation testing laboratory at Wright Field in Ohio was ended.

### Saturday, March 22

President Roosevelt put out to sea from Florida for a fishing trip on yacht *Potomac* after being delayed by bad weather.

Grand Coulee Dam, the world's largest, produced its first power. It is located on Columbia River in state of Washington.

By vote of 329 to 0, House of Representatives approved appropriation of \$4,073,810,074 for Army of 4,000,000 men and for 3,600 heavy bombers.

Strike of 3,000 workers was ended at Aluminum Company of America plant in Edgewater, New Jersey.

Final arrangements to send two shiploads of flour to unoccupied France were made.

### Sunday, March 23

Japanese Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka stopped off at Moscow on his way to Rome and Berlin.

Minister of Aircraft Production Beaverbrook announced arrival of first giant U. S. bombers in Britain.

Reports from Yugoslavia told of widespread and angry opposition among people to government's apparent plans to become ally of Axis.

### Monday, March 24

Senate approved \$7,000,000,000 fund for lend-lease program and measure was ready for President's signature.

Main plant of Bethlehem Steel Corporation was closed by strike of 21,000 workers.

Yugoslav premier and foreign minister went to Vienna where they were to sign agreement with Axis powers.

## ♦ SMILES ♦



"Next question: Give the first three letters of the alphabet—they don't have to be in their proper order."  
PRICE IN SATURDAY EVENING POST

The private was brought before his commanding officer and charged with disorderly conduct.

"This," said the officer, "is the tenth time you have appeared before me on this charge. What have you to say?"

"Well, sir," replied the private, "I hope our acquaintance will ripen into friendship."  
—SELECTED

Doctors have discovered that hay fever can be either positive or negative. Sometimes the eyes have it and sometimes the nose.  
—BOY'S LIFE

A medical journal advances the theory that "man is slightly taller in the morning than he is in the evening." We have never tested this, but we have certainly noticed a tendency to become "short" toward the end of the month.  
—WALL STREET JOURNAL

A man dropped his wig in the street and a boy picked it up and handed it to him. "Thanks, my boy," said the owner of the wig. "You are the first genuine hair restorer I have ever seen."  
—LABOR

## Information Test

Answers to history and geography questions may be found on page 8. If you miss too many of them, a review of history and geography is advisable. Current history questions refer to this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.

### American History

1. The name "America" is derived from one of the names of the navigator (a) Columbus, (b) Erikson, (c) Vespucci, (d) Cabot.

2. The discoverer of the Pacific Ocean was (a) Balboa, (b) Cortez, (c) Drake, (d) Magellan.

3. Before the town of New York received its English name, it was called .....

4. The town which became famous through a wave of witch-hunting hysteria was (a) Providence, Rhode Island, (b) Salem, Massachusetts, (c) Annapolis, Maryland (d) Williamsburg, Virginia.

5. The "Lost Colony of Roanoke" was a colony planted on an island off the coast of what is now (a) Virginia, (b) Maryland, (c) South Carolina, (d) North Carolina.

6. Match the following early settlements with their colonies:

Augusta	Florida
Jamestown	Georgia
Plymouth	Maryland
St. Augustine	Massachusetts
St. Mary's	Virginia

### Geography

1. To attack the British Malay States by land in a drive from French Indo-China toward Singapore, the Japanese army would have to pass through (a) China, (b) Burma, (c) Borneo, (d) Thailand (Siam).

2. Recently, when United States warships put in at Sydney, government officials left the capital, Canberra, to welcome them. The ships

were visiting (a) Australia, (b) New Zealand, (c) Canada, (d) South Africa.

3. The St. Lawrence waterway and power project is concerned chiefly with that part of the river which has the State of New York on its right bank and on its left the Canadian province of (a) New Brunswick, (b) Quebec, (c) Ontario, (d) Manitoba.

4. The strategically located Azores belong to (a) Spain, (b) Portugal, (c) France, (d) Britain.

5. An outbreak of the Moros, the warlike Mohammedans of the Sulu Islands and Mindanao, has worried the government of (a) Japan, (b) the Philippines, (c) the Netherlands East Indies, (d) Thailand (Siam).

### Current History

1. What are the four "essential human freedoms" which President Roosevelt has outlined as peace objectives?

2. What was the dominating feature of American foreign policy from the conclusion of the World War until the outbreak of the present conflict?

3. Can you name seven of President Wilson's Fourteen Points?

4. What are the various stages by which Hitler would have to accomplish the invasion of England?

5. Of what does the British defense against an attempted invasion consist?

6. Congress has been asked to endorse an agreement with Canada dealing with what subject?

7. Who is head of the Royal Air Force?



# The Week at Home

## Naval Expansion

As Congress passed the huge naval appropriation bill for the fiscal year of 1942, the nation learned that its new two-ocean Navy was to include five battleships of 65,000 tons displacement. In armament as well as size they will top anything ever afloat on the seven seas. We are not told just what guns they will carry, but since the 45,000-tonners now under construction are to mount 12 16-inch guns each, the batteries of the still larger ships will be formidable indeed. When it comes to guns, the United States Navy's motto is "The heavier, the better," so there is a possibility that the new monsters will be armed with 18-inch guns. These 65,000-ton vessels conclusively demonstrate the faith of our admirals in the continued ability of the battleship to hold its own against the bombing plane, for several years will pass before they are ready to join the fleet.

To provide adequate bases for the great new Navy we are building, an ambitious program of shore construction is to be undertaken. It has been estimated that the country must spend 23½ per cent of the cost of its warships to provide them with the necessary support ashore. In other words, our investment in shore stations must be almost doubled. Under this program, Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, is to surpass Singapore as a fortified base. Air and submarine bases will be strung across the Pacific, and similar bases on the other side will enable patrol planes and destroyers to push our frontier well past the middle of the Atlantic. Mainland fleet bases will be greatly expanded, also.

## Mediation Board

The National Defense Mediation Board has its work cut out for it. It was appointed by the President over a week ago at a time when about 30 strikes were in progress in plants having Army contracts. At least as many more strikes were threatening in coal fields, steel mills, and factories. Though the number of workers who had laid down their tools was still small, the situation was serious for a nation which needed every plant running at top speed. A labor dispute which stops the manufacture of a single important part may cause a bottleneck which will hold up production in a number of other places.

The Mediation Board is made up of four representatives of employers, four representatives of organized labor, and three "neutrals" who are to look after the interests of the general public. One of the neutrals, Dr. Clarence A. Dykstra, director of selective service, is chairman of the board.

The board is to be used only as a last resort. Not until the secretary of labor reports that the Labor Department's conciliation service is unable to settle it, does the board then offer its services to the employer and his dissatisfied employees. It then investigates the dispute and recommends a settlement, but it has no power to force either side to accept its decision. It



GOODS FOR BRITAIN BEGIN TO PILE UP ON THE DOCKS  
This aerial view of Erie Basin in the New York area shows crated war materials cramming the piers. Merchant vessels are waiting to take on some of the load, clearing space for ever-increasing quantities of goods being turned out by the "Arsenal of Democracy."

may, however, threaten to publish all the details of the affair and let the American people see what kind of a disagreement is endangering the nation by holding up defense production.

In the executive order setting up the Mediation Board, the President declared it the duty of employers and employees to make every possible effort to settle disputes without interrupting defense work. He looks to public opinion, kept informed by the new board, to enforce the cooperation of the few employers or workers who do not cooperate willingly.

## St. Lawrence Project

Congress now has before it a plan Franklin D. Roosevelt worked on both as governor of New York and as President of the United States—a project which, in some form or other, has been taken up by every president from Woodrow Wilson on. It is a plan to deepen the channel of the broad St. Lawrence and to harness the river's rapids by means of dams and power plants.

At present, ocean-going ships sail up the St. Lawrence only as far as Montreal, and in the white, foaming waters of the rapids tremendous power is rushing away unused. Accordingly, the project provides for a channel 27 feet deep all the way from Montreal harbor to the upper part of Lake Superior and the construction of a 2,200,000-horsepower hydroelectric plant to provide current for manufacturing on both sides of the river. The administration points out that if this had been done when it was asked for seven years ago, electric power would not be the defense bottleneck it is today.

But in 1934 many senators considered the project unnecessary and feared the dislocations of trade that might follow

the creation of new ocean trade routes and new manufacturing centers. Consequently, the treaty with Canada failed to get the required two-thirds majority in the Senate. Today the opposition in Congress argues that it would be unwise to divert men and materials from the defense effort to employ them in an enterprise which will be of no use for five years. Additional power for defense can be obtained more quickly, it is argued, by making improvements at Niagara or by building steam-electric plants.

Nevertheless, an agreement to carry out the St. Lawrence project was signed in the capital of Canada, March 19, 1941. Since it is not in the form of a treaty, as it was in 1934, it requires a majority in each house instead of a two-thirds vote in the Senate.

## Flour for France

Tied up at New York docks are two French freighters which will soon be plowing across the Atlantic laden with 13,500 tons of white flour for the hungry people of unoccupied France. The flour is the gift of the American Red Cross and will be distributed by the large force that organization built up to get milk and clothing to destitute French children.

The shipment of food through a door in the British blockade represents an experiment. The United States has persuaded Britain to permit the trial on the grounds that the French people must not be allowed to feel that they are being starved by the British fleet. Britain has demanded and received from the Vichy government guarantees that not a pound of equivalent foodstuffs will leave unoccupied France and that the two freighters will return immediately to the United States. Marshal Pétain, hoping for regular shipments of food from America, will undoubtedly wish to carry out his promises, but much will depend upon whether or not the Germans permit him to do so.

## Colonel Donovan

After a 25,000-mile trip to England, Ireland, the Balkans, and North Africa, Colonel William Donovan is back in his Washington law office placidly working on a Supreme Court case. His whole life has been divided between military adventure and a quiet, but very successful, legal practice.

In the seven years before 1914, this calm, soft-spoken citizen of Buffalo, New York, built up a profitable law business which he promptly shelved at the outbreak of the World War in order to become a soldier. In 1916 he organized a National

Guard cavalry troop and commanded it on the Mexican border. When the United States entered the war he went to France as a major in the New York infantry regiment known as the "Fighting 69th." He came out of the war a colonel with three wounds, the distinguished service cross, the congressional medal of honor, and a number of foreign decorations.

Returning to his law practice, Colonel Donovan was appointed United States district attorney for western New York and made many enemies by his conscientious efforts to enforce prohibition. In 1924 he was appointed assistant attorney general, but he retired to private practice again after the election of Mr. Herbert Hoover to the presidency four years later.

It was last year that he became the mystery man of our foreign affairs. In May 1940, he made it clear that in his opinion Britain and France were "fighting not for democracy but for survival as great powers," and he advocated neutrality for the United States. Only three months later he went to London on a confidential mission for Secretary of the Navy Knox, and the destroyers-for-bases deal was concluded so soon after his return as to give rise to rumors that he had negotiated it. After publishing a series of articles warning this country of German Fifth Column activities, he went to Hawaii with the secretary of the navy. On the 14th of last December, "a private individual, traveling at his own expense," he started out on the trip from which he has just returned.

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# The Week Abroad

## Yugoslavia and the Axis

### 1. Trouble at Home

No European country has within its borders such a hodge-podge of peoples as is to be found in Yugoslavia. Even the name by which it was formerly known—Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—did not do adequate justice to its complicated racial pattern, for it ignored the small minorities, the Slavonians, the Macedonians, the Bosnians, the Montenegrins, and the Dalmatians. Yet this racial structure, with its different religious faiths, with its varying political traditions and its often conflicting economic interests, provides one clue to the political struggle



"HE'LL NOW PUT THE CATS OUT AND LOCK THE BACK DOOR"  
RAY IN KANSAS CITY STAR

that has torn this Balkan kingdom for weeks.

Since the fall of 1939 there has been at least an appearance of superficial unity among these diverse elements, the result of constitutional revisions that granted the minorities some degree of local autonomy. But this newly cemented unity is being put to serious strain under the demands of Germany that Yugoslavia sign the Axis pact. Throughout this crisis, the Croats and Slovenes—who make up more than a third of the country's population—have urged submission to German demands. Their attitude has been shaped partly by the fact that culturally they have closer kinship with the Germans than with the Serbs; partly, perhaps, by the hope that in a German-dominated Yugoslavia, they will replace the Serbs as the commanding political force.

For the same reasons, in reverse, it is the Serbs who have shown the most stubborn opposition to German pressure. Since the foundation of the Yugoslav kingdom, they have constituted the ruling element in the nation. They are bold and aggressive fighters. For centuries, in the face of Ottoman oppression, they maintained a constant underground struggle against foreign rule.

### 2. Axis Pact

But in spite of this attitude at home, the Yugoslav government finally signed the pact last week. As we go to press the terms of that pact are not yet clear, nor is there any certainty as to what effect it will produce among the Serbs. Some of them, in quoting high army officers, are already moving across the border to join the British and Greeks, apparently in the belief that Yugoslavia's independence will be short-lived, whatever the actual terms of the pact may be.

## Hemisphere Defense

Three Latin-American republics have figured in recent discussions to tighten the defenses of the Western Hemisphere. The Republic of Panama, with territory on both sides of the vital hemisphere canal, has

agreed to permit the United States to establish air bases on its soil. The American Army already has a very formidable defense network in the Canal Zone. But owing to the speed of modern aircraft, military experts deem it advisable to have protective airdromes some distance from the Canal itself. Under an agreement reached with Panama authorities, American planes will be stationed on Panama soil in position to challenge enemy raiders before they can approach the Canal. Provision is also made in the agreement for setting up aerial listening posts, searchlight stations, and communication points to be scattered throughout the jungles on either side of the Canal Zone.

The negotiations with Mexico and Brazil, the other two Latin-American states now active in hemisphere defense problems, have not yet reached concrete decisions. In the case of Mexico, the question of leasing bases to the United States may find some barrier in the not wholly happy history of relations between Washington and Mexico City. The Mexican government is rather sensitive about having United States forces on its soil. And while the "Good Neighbor" policy of the Roosevelt administration has done a good deal to remove some of the misunderstandings between the two countries, the point has not yet been reached where there is complete trust in Mexico of United States policy.

No such suspicions mar the conversations that are said to be going on with Brazil. Millions of cups of Brazilian coffee sipped in the United States, day after day, make the government in Rio de Janeiro receptive to United States proposals for cooperation. Our military chiefs are anxious to guard the coast of Brazil which bulges out into the Atlantic and which is only 1,600 miles from the coast of Africa.

## German Madagascar?

Some years ago, Madagascar enjoyed the distinction of ranking second only to Greenland among the world's largest islands. This ranking, it later turned out, was given Madagascar in error. Careful surveys gave it about 229,000 square miles, which brought it down to fifth place behind New Guinea, or Papua (342,232 square miles), Borneo (282,416 square miles), and Baffin Island, in Canada (231,000 square miles). This, coupled with the fact that some geographies still give Madagascar an area of 241,000 square miles, has created considerable confusion as to its actual rank.

Located 250 miles off the southeastern coast of Africa, this big island has remained in obscurity for many years. It has produced rice, beans, coffee, sugar, and tobacco, for France, which has ruled it as a colony since 1896, but for the most part its 4,000,000 natives and 25,000 French

colonials have done very little trading with any other country. When the Nazis began to mention Madagascar as a possible haven for Jewish refugees a few years ago, the French government maintained a tight-lipped silence on the subject. Even last fall, when a few British ships began to blockade the island in the hopes of adding it to the list of French territories supporting General Charles de Gaulle and his Free French movement, the French government at Vichy had little to say about it.

Last week there was news concerning Madagascar, but not from Vichy. It came from London, where it was stated that France has given or decided to give Madagascar over to the Nazis. This would be disturbing news to the British, if true, for Madagascar contains several large ports, from which Britain's hitherto secure trade routes to and from Australia, India, the Red Sea, East and South Africa could be menaced. British sources assert that scores of German technicians and specialists have landed on the island. Whether the report is wholly true, partly true, or meant to provide an excuse for a British seizure of the strategic island is not yet clear.

## Air Marshal

"Never before in the field of human conflict," Prime Minister Churchill said last fall, "has so much been owed by so many to so few." He was speaking then of the pilots, mechanics, and the gunners of the R.A.F., whose tireless efforts, in the face of overwhelming odds, enabled Britain to catch her breath in the dark days of last summer, until she was strong once more.

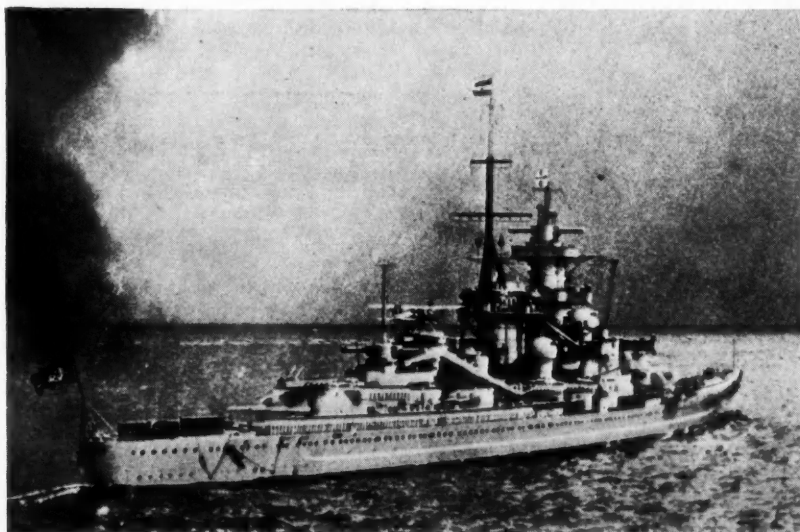
The men of the R.A.F. are almost anonymous. Their names are seldom given. It is rare that even the head of this air force, Air Marshal Sir Richard Edmund Charles Peirse, figures prominently in the news.

Air Marshal Peirse, the son of a British admiral, was educated in the naval tradition, but he turned to flying while both he and aviation were young in years. At the beginning of the World War he left the navy and became a pilot, gaining many decorations for his exploits. The government found Peirse too valuable a man to keep in a pilot's cockpit, so he was elevated by degrees to become an operations and intelligence officer at the air ministry, commander of the air forces in Palestine, vice-chief of the British air staff, and finally he was elevated to the position he now holds—air marshal of Great Britain.

A tall, dark-featured man with broad



W.W.  
R. E. C. PEIRSE



GERMAN BATTLE CRUISER IN THE ATLANTIC

According to reports, Germany has sent two 26,500-ton battle cruisers to attack shipping in the Atlantic. These heavily armed dreadnaughts—the Gneisenau is shown above—can outgun and outspeed most of Britain's battle line, with the exception of the new King George V.



INT'L NEWS

### ROOF SPOTTERS

A good proportion of London's population spends much of its time on the roofs, ready to spot and report the arrival of enemy planes, and ready to work against the fiery incendiary bomb. In the neighborhood of St. Paul's Cathedral (shown above) alone, more than 6,000 firms employ men on their roofs for that purpose.

shoulders and an easy, confident manner, Sir Richard Peirse generally puts in a 12-hour day at the air ministry. Every morning intelligence reports of the previous night are examined, and in the afternoons he brings out huge maps and plots the next series of raids on enemy territory and shipping.

## Trans-Sahara Railway

Oran and Dakar are names which the average Frenchman today associates with two painful incidents which nearly involved France in a war with Britain. At Oran, France's Mediterranean base in Algeria, last summer, British naval units destroyed several French warships to prevent their falling into German hands. At Dakar, several months later, the British made an unsuccessful attempt to capture the capital and chief port of French West Africa.

These incidents caused many French people to forget that Oran and Dakar were once associated with a dream of empire. They were to have been terminals of a desert railway connecting Tunisia, Algeria, and French Morocco, with French West Africa and the valley of the Niger River. The railroad was surveyed more than 20 years ago, and a start was made on it at both ends. But the French engineers were stopped by the blazing wastes of the great Sahara, which stretches endlessly away south of the Atlas Mountains, in North Africa. No tracks were ever laid into this upland wilderness of rocks, lava beds, shifting sands and old, worn-down mountains. Today a few wandering tribes skirt the outer fringes of this region, but the great stillness of the region is broken only occasionally when a solitary plane drones south or west en route to the more important French territories of West and Central Africa.

From Vichy, last week, came news that Marshal Pétain has decided to complete the railway across the Sahara, thus establishing a connecting link between the Mediterranean, Dakar, and the Niger valley. In so doing, the French government hopes to open new mines near Timbuktu, to grow cotton in the more fertile regions of the French Sudan, and perhaps even to develop a sort of French Egypt along the plain where the Niger cuts its yellow, muddy course.

In building this railroad, however, the French may arouse Britain and the United States, since some fear Hitler may use it to move troops and supplies across Africa to Dakar, possibly using that port as a springboard for an attack upon South America.

**PRONUNCIATIONS:** Berbera (bur'beh-rah), Chungking (choong'king'), Dakar (dah-kahr'), Gneisenau (gnee'seh-now'), Graziani (grah-tsee-ah'nee'), von Kluge (fon' kloo'geh—g as in go), Oran (oe-rah'n'), Papua (pah'poo-ah'), von Reichenau (fon' ri'keh-now—i as in ice), Rugen (reu'gen—g as in go), Scharnhorst (shahrn'horst').



# If Invasion of England Should Be Tried—What It Would Be Like

(Concluded from page 1)

little in common with these trials. British experts have estimated that Hitler would not attempt it with less than 250,000 troops. His greatest problem would be in getting these troops across the water, for between 1,600 and 2,000 ocean-going ships, or their equivalent in barges and other types of small craft, would be needed to carry them and sufficient supplies.

The Germans have been wrestling with this problem for some time, and have experimented with a variety of different modes of transport. The most favored seems to be the "invasion barge," a flat, awkward craft, propelled by its own motor. The standard barge is protected by upright steel shields, punctured with loopholes for rifles and machine guns. When the barge runs up on a beach, which its very shallow draught enables it to do, the shields fall forward, and become platforms down which tanks, trucks, or guns and caissons roll.

There have been reports of German "amphibian tanks," which can swim half-submerged in the water, and roll up on land with guns firing, and also of an artificial fog, called "hydro-cn" which can be spread like a smoke screen to cover landing operations. Whether there is any basis to these reports is difficult to determine, but the British admit both are possibilities. It is known more definitely that the Germans do have huge transport planes able to carry light tanks and artillery, staff cars, ambulances, and shells. They have perhaps several hundred mosquito-boats (called E-boats in the German navy) capable of reaching high speeds and attacking larger ships which might try to stop the barges. These, of course, are in addition to the standard equipment—the submarines, dive bombers, fighter planes, and naval craft that Hitler is able to throw into any such battle.

## Four Choices

One can speculate endlessly on the various ways in which these weapons might be used. But the matter has been studied thoroughly by hundreds of military experts on both sides for many years, so observers have come to the conclusion that Hitler has roughly four choices: (1) a landing on the southeast coast aimed at taking London; (2) a landing at the southwest coast ports aimed at driving up the "Southampton gap," a series of valleys leading northward toward Birmingham and other industrial centers; (3) simultaneous landings on east and west coast aimed at cutting England across the narrow but extremely important industrial Midlands, and (4) a landing in Ireland, which might be coupled with any one of the other three, or which might establish further Nazi bases for attacks on British shipping.

Having studied Hitler's methods with great care, and making allowances for whatever new weapons he might produce at the

last moment, British experts expect that the German fuhrer's invasion plans call for three separate stages.

Hitler's first stage, in attacking any nation, is to create terror and panic among those easily frightened, and confusion among those who are not. This may not be so effective in Britain, where the entire population has become hardened to continuous bombing and unpleasant sights. But it is admitted in advance that the Germans may have some success. There will be clouds of heavy bombers in the skies, and parachutists drifting down by night all over England. There will be little knots of toughened, determined men, heavily armed, and fired with fanaticism who will create as much uproar as possible, cutting telephone wires, blowing up power plants, wrecking lines of communication, issuing false orders, perhaps by radio, spreading false rumors. Simultaneously, it is expected that whatever is left of the Fifth Column in England will rise, but it is not expected to be very effective. This may go on for six, or 12, or 24 hours, or even longer.

## British Defenses

There is a big room in the offices of the army general staff, in London, where a huge map of Great Britain hangs on one wall. In this room, carefully guarded, the decisions will be made which will win or lose the battle for England if invasion comes. Here, the high command will be waiting for the first reports of the expected 250,000 German troops. Somewhere, out in the murk beyond the British coasts, that force will be on the way. British experts expect there will be many landings and sham landings, designed to confuse the high command as to where the heaviest blow will fall.

The second stage of a German invasion will probably begin when the uproar reaches its height. The British believe that there will be at least one big landing on the south coast, because only in the narrow waters of the Channel will barges and mosquito boats be of much use. It is believed that the barges will push out from the French coast after dark, and arrive with the high tide on the south shores of England just before dawn. Simultaneously a terrific barrage will be laid down by German dive bombers, and by big coastal guns across the Channel. It will be difficult to detect and destroy these small craft in the darkness. The big ships of the British navy will be virtually unable to intervene in the early stages of the attack, for the bulk of the navy, as well as the bulk of the army, must be held in reserve until it is certain where the main attack will fall. A wrong guess at this point might easily cost Britain the war.

If the objective of parachute troops is to create confusion, the objective of the



POSSIBLE ROUTES OF INVASION

COURTESY N. Y. TIMES

second wave of heavily armed troops is to meet and destroy the British army in one swift stroke. If the British could concentrate all their divisions at the point of landing, the Germans would be outnumbered six to one. But this the British probably could not do. The real question would be whether enough troops could be rushed by rail and highway to the critical sector to turn the tide at the critical moment. The Germans would depend upon their dive bombers, parachutists, Fifth Columnists, to block roads, blow up bridges, and tear up railway tracks to slow up the British army's movements.

## Home Organization

Britain's home defenses today are more powerful than ever before in history. There is an army of 3,000,000 men, a special "home guard" of 1,000,000 men organized into local units, and an air force of perhaps 23,000 planes. The British have already prepared for the worst. The entire land has been divided into 12 separate regions, any one of which is capable of carrying on alone, if isolated from the rest. Each has its own defense force, its own air fields, supply depots, and each has its own military administration.

But the British admit that if things ever reached the point where organization of this sort would have to be called into play, they would be in a serious position indeed. It is admitted that if Hitler could seize one or two good ports and a section of the coast about 20 miles square, he could establish a "bridgehead," and then rush over troops in large numbers.

The task of the British is to prevent the enemy from establishing a bridgehead of any sort. An elastic but powerful system of coast defenses, which includes elaborate tank traps, mined highways and beaches, tangled mazes of barbed wire, and deep ditches is expected to hold any landing force in check for at least a day. It is said that the British have anchored huge drums of crude oil below the surface of the water along critical beaches, and that these will be blown up and set afire with incendiary bombs, turning the surface of the sea into a blazing inferno, if barges or small boats approach. British bombers have also practiced dropping oil drums and setting them afire. Neither crude oil nor incendiary bombs are greatly affected by water and thus could be used effectively.

Chiefly, however, Britain depends on her navy and air force, working in close co-operation, to stem the tide. Both branches of the service would find this their supreme trial. It is reported officially in Washington that Hitler has between 38,000 and 40,000 aircraft, and there is not much doubt that he is prepared to throw everything he has

at the British when the critical moment comes, regardless of the losses which may be incurred. The same is true of his navy. If the British Grand Fleet moves down from its bases in North Ireland and Scotland, Hitler is likely to send off his scores of mosquito boats, dive bombers, submarines, and other types of craft, as well as his battleships and battle cruisers, in one concentrated effort to stop it—and once again without regard to the losses, for he can lose his fleet and survive, but Britain cannot.

## Navy and Air Force

If the British navy and the Royal Air Force can break the lines of communication Hitler is able to establish from various points in Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and France, to England (and possibly Ireland), the British army will have time to destroy whatever German troops have landed, and the invasion will have resulted in utter failure. If not, British observers expect that the third stage will begin, in which a vast German army of occupation will be ferried across the narrow seas, guarded by a "roof" of fighter planes, in big transport ships. The beginning of the third stage would be an almost certain sign that Britain had lost the war.

Although an attempt at invasion is still a possibility, it would present such enormous difficulties that few observers believe that Hitler will risk it at the present time. Only last week it was revealed that Britain has established a huge secret reserve of bomber and fighter planes which could be thrown into the battle when the need arose—a revelation which indicates that it would be even more difficult for Hitler to secure command of the air over Britain than previously supposed. Only if Britain is seriously weakened by the sea war, during coming months, or if Germany's position becomes so desperate that Hitler will decide to risk everything on this one gamble, is an attack on England likely to be attempted.

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WHEN NAZI RAIDERS ARE SIGHTED

Members of an antiaircraft battery in southern England race to take up their action stations.

WIDE WORLD



# Role of America in the Postwar World

(Concluded from page 1)

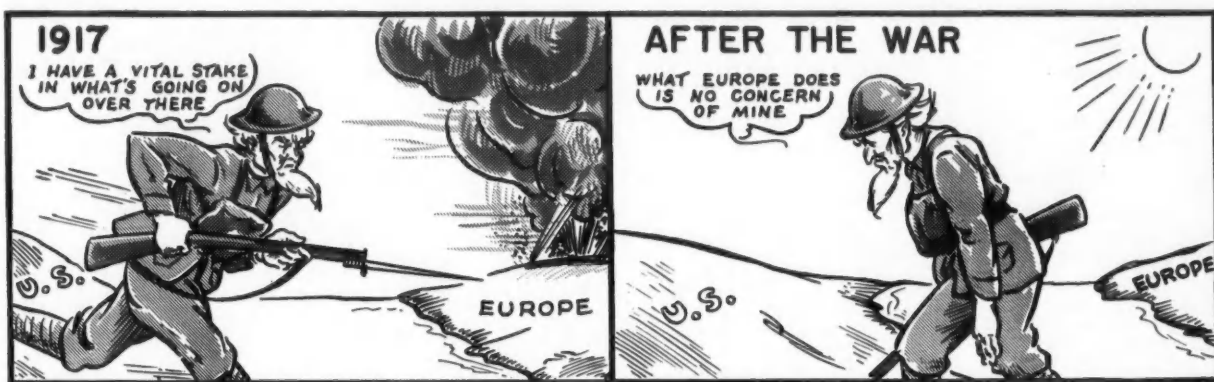
neutrality and the acceptance of the role of Britain's nonbelligerent ally in the struggle against Germany. For, if carried out, it means that the United States will continue to exert a powerful influence over world affairs after the present struggle is over. It means the abandonment of the policy of isolation which has governed our actions on the world stage ever since the conclusion of the World War. It means that the United States is committed by its President not only to using its tremendous industrial and economic might in determining the outcome of the armed conflict, but also in deciding the conditions of peace, and in safeguarding the peace of the world once it has been reestablished.

It must be remembered that a similar objective was held by President Wilson during the World War. As is pointed out elsewhere in this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER (see "Historical Backgrounds" page 2), the main pillar in Mr. Wilson's peace program was the organization of the world along cooperative lines, where peace would be maintained through an international organization. In the peace structure to be established, the United States was to occupy an important position, was to use her great influence in safeguarding the peace. He held that "no covenant of cooperative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war."

## Period of Isolation

And yet, when the war was over, the United States refused to accept the commitments which President Wilson had made. The United States Senate refused to ratify the Versailles Treaty, with the result that this country did not become a member of the League of Nations. This country had, in effect, declared that it had a vital interest in the outcome of the military struggle in Europe and had gone the limit in affecting the outcome of that conflict. And yet, when it had affected that outcome by contributing toward an Allied victory, it withdrew completely from European affairs. It retired into the shell of isolation once more. As to the importance of this policy and its effect upon the rest of the world, Barnet Nover, writing a few days ago in the *Washington Post*, makes the following analysis:

The refusal of the United States to follow up its military victory by constructive political action in the international sphere created a vacuum which our associates in the war never were able to fill by their own efforts. Their very attempts to do so, first through such strong measures as the occupation of the



United States government, many people felt that it was an unwise policy. They argued that our best hope lay in cooperating with other nations in order to preserve the peace. They said, in effect: "Our mistake was not in going into the first World War and helping to win it, but in not taking advantage of the victory. Wars of themselves do not make the world better or safer; their influence is negative. When the forces standing for peace and democracy win a war, that does not in itself make for democracy or for anything else, but it gives the peace-loving nations an opportunity to create the kind of conditions which will make for peace, and to establish machinery for settling disputes peacefully. We won the opportunity to help establish peace in the world, but we did not do it. We turned our back on the world, and allowed the old, dangerous conditions to return. Our mistake was not in defeating Germany, but in failing to do constructive work for peace after German aggressors were out of the way."

## Present Reversal

If a majority of the American people support the position taken by President Roosevelt that "our country must continue to play its great part in the period of world reconstruction," they are reversing the decision they made in 1919 when they withdrew from participation in world affairs. And such a policy of cooperation in postwar reconstruction seems to have the support of the people, for it is backed by Congress and by the leadership of the Republican party. Why this position has become inevitable is stated by Barnet Nover, in the column already referred to, as follows:

Twenty years ago we left the job half done. The consequence was chaos and ultimately catastrophe, from which the whole world is now suffering bitterly. We cannot afford to repeat that mistake. We realize now

Just how is the United States to help to build a better and safer world order? What role is this country to play in the reconstruction of the world? So far as the immediate program is concerned, it consists largely of doing everything possible to help Britain withstand the German assault and eventually defeat Germany. That part of the program was discussed in considerable detail in last week's issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER. But it is one thing to work for the defeat of an enemy and quite another to work out a program of postwar reconstruction. However, before this latter program can be undertaken the former policy must be successfully executed. That is the purpose of the whole aid-to-Britain program upon which the nation has embarked.

No detailed plans have yet been brought forward for the period of postwar reconstruction. There are many indications, however, that the President and those who assist him in the shaping of American foreign policy have given considerable thought to the problem. He gave some indication of this fact in his message to Congress this year, in which he outlined certain objectives for the future. In part, he said:

## Four Freedoms

We look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear, which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of

from stronger neighbors. He then made this declaration:

We believe that any nationality, no matter how small, has the inherent right to its own nationhood.

We believe that the men and women of such nations, no matter what size, can, through the processes of peace, serve themselves and serve the world by protecting the common man's security; improve the standards of healthful living; provide markets for manufacture and for agriculture.

Through that kind of peaceful service, every nation can increase its happiness, banish the terrors of war, and abandon man's inhumanity to man.

Whether the United States actively enters the war or not, it is likely to insist upon having some voice in outlining the peace settlement. How far America should go in helping to preserve other nations against attack after the war is over, and what provisions should be made to ensure the economic welfare of the people of the various nations—these problems are sure to raise profound issues when the war is over, and it is very important that they be decided wisely. If mistakes are made, the advantages which should be gained by a military victory of the democracies may be lost.

Those, therefore, who are interested in defending America and in defending democracy should be studying the causes of war and aggression and strife and unrest. They should make themselves ready to act wisely upon the big problems of reconstruction which are certain to come up when the war is over. By doing this they will be helping to defend America, just as truly as they are doing when they help to build great armies and air forces and navies, and to produce stores of food and munitions.

Each person interested in permanent world peace should spend much time in studying each section of the world, each nationality, each group of people. The people and the problems of each section should be studied; so should their needs and grievances. Then, when we face the issue of what we can best do to ensure freedom and opportunity and peace, we will be prepared to act wisely.

Since we believe in democracy, we must preserve the democratic method in deciding all those questions; there must be complete freedom of debate among those whose ideas differ with respect to the course America should follow. It is important, however, that discussion be not only free, but that it be *informed*. Study and thought should precede discussion. It is by no means too early to begin reading and thinking about the problems of foreign policy which America must face during the months ahead, both during and after the present war.

## References

"All-Out Aid for Britain," by H. F. Pringle. *Current History*, February 13, 1941, pp. 11-13. "To meet the Axis challenge effectively we should sever diplomatic relations now."

"Time to Think American," by Arthur Capper. *Scribner's Commentator*, February 1941, pp. 69-74. "We are putting the welfare of other countries ahead of our own."

"The Alternative to Fascism," *The New Republic*, December 23, 1940, pp. 857-861. "A proposal for American-British cooperation."

"Wanted Now: An American Foreign Policy," by A. Viton. *Christian Century*, February 26, 1941, pp. 283-285. Another view on what our foreign policy should encompass.



Ruhr, later through a policy of appeasement, made a bad situation worse. The ultimate consequence was disaster.

During the period which followed the first World War, many people in this country felt that we had made a mistake by entering that conflict. They said that the objectives for which we fought had not been realized; that we had not made "the world safe for democracy"; and that "the war to end war" had been a farce. It was their contention that our greatest hope lay in withdrawing completely—or as completely as possible—from European affairs. This was the governing policy of the United States until shortly before the outbreak of the present war.

While such was the fixed policy of the

as we have never done before the impact of world developments upon us. We cannot, once the present menace is overcome, trust again to the blind forces of chance, to the oceans that have shrunk, to wishful thinking and illusions based on a false reading of history to save us. We must play the part which size and power and destiny have thrust upon us.

The world has shrunk as civilization has spread. In the nineteenth century the great powers were all European powers. It was possible then to maintain a precarious balance on that continent. The twentieth century has seen the rise of new centers of power, one in the Far East, one in this hemisphere. Our role is bound to be one fraught with great responsibilities and equally great opportunities. When peace returns, we can shirk that role only to our own and the world's undoing. In time of war we must begin to prepare for peace.

physical aggression against any neighbor anywhere in the world.

This is no blueprint of a new world order. It is little more than a statement of objectives which should be sought in the peace settlement. It is not a statement of war aims in the sense that President Wilson's Fourteen Points were. But it does indicate the President's trend of thought in considering the aims which need realization. The President re-emphasized these "four essential human freedoms" in his recent address to the American people. At that time, he went even further in the direction of outlining the objectives which should be achieved in the postwar settlement. He said that all nations should be preserved and guaranteed against attack



"ONCE China built a wall. She lived behind it. She laughed at her enemies. She felt secure. Soon an invader came from the north. Three times China found the enemy inside her gates. They did not storm the wall. They did not go around it. They simply bribed the gate-keepers."

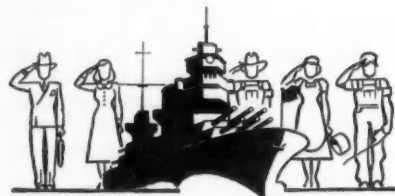
So begins the message of a new booklet, *You Can Defend America*, for which John J. Pershing writes a foreword, commending it to every American. "How each of us can do his part in the home, in industry, in every walk of life," he declares, "is indicated clearly and forcefully." The pamphlet makes a strong appeal for a spiritual rebirth among Americans. It goes on to say:

"Today America builds a wall. A ring of steel. Ships and planes and guns. But is this enough? Does America have what China lacked? What France lacked? Does she have total defense? She builds her wall. Does she build character? Spirit? The will to sacrifice? Does she build men? Men who pull together?" These questions leave each individual asking himself what he can do to help out. Here is the inspiring challenge:

Musket and powder-horn once hung over the door of every American home. Our fathers were not afraid to use them. The Minute Men at Lexington and Concord seized them and ran to defend their country. Not a man in America would hesitate to do it again if invaders threatened his homeland.

But America has already been invaded. Like parachute troops in the night, fear, hate, and greed have slipped into our homes, our industries, our communities. Like termites they are eating away our national character.

The fight is on. The fight against our softness, graft, laziness, extravagance, buck-passing, materialism—allies of the Fifth Col-



(From the cover of "You Can Defend America.")

umn. The battle line runs through every home, every office, every factory, every farm. It is a daily battle. It takes courage. Imagination. You've got to be tough inside. You've got to think hard, and live clean.

You and 130 million other Americans can enlist today in this fight. You don't have to wait to be put into uniform. You're in the army now.

First lick the enemy inside yourself. Then get the next fellow to join you in this battle for a new America. Get your newspaper, radio station, and movie theater to fight for a new morale.

Fight to make your home and community a pattern.

Fight to bring teamwork in industry. Fight to unite the nation.

Then America will have what ancient China lacked. What modern France lacked. She will have total defense.

A million copies of this pamphlet are being printed for sale on newsstands throughout the nation. Information regarding additional copies for mass distribution may be obtained by communicating with Moral Re-Armament, care Judd & Detweiler, Washington, D. C.

## Presidential Intimate

Harry Hopkins, former secretary of commerce, has been out of the President's cabinet for some time but his association with Mr. Roosevelt has grown more intimate rather than less so. Whenever the Chief Executive has to have a job done that requires the utmost secrecy, he sends for Hopkins. He relies upon him for many decisions. And when the official day's business is done and the President leaves his offices for evening relaxation, it is Hopkins again with whom he sits down for a chat.

Writing in the *New York Times Magazine*, Turner Catledge says that Hopkins



H. L. HOPKINS

# News and Comment

sits, thinks, and literally sleeps closer to the President than any other person among the thousands who have trod the national stage these last few years. He lives at the White House in a suite of rooms set aside for his personal use. He goes with the President wherever the President goes—on cruises down the Potomac and in the Caribbean, on defense inspection trips about the country, on week-end visits to the Roosevelt estate at Hyde Park. He is found invariably in the family circle on all occasions. Describing this presidential confidant, Mr. Catledge declares:

Mr. Hopkins is not essentially the dreamer type which the anti-New Dealers think him to be. He is somewhat on the crusader side, as are most of the President's closest followers, but he can get along in almost any company, from inhabitants of the tenements of Chicago to the Long Island society sets. He loves life and its pleasures large and small. . . . Mr. Hopkins has an air of personal indifference, reflected in his clothes and his ambling gait as well as his lack of interest in money.

## That "B" Vitamin

There is no doubt that America has become vitamin conscious in the last few years. Health experts, doctors, magazine writers, and even advertisements, have constantly urged that everyone safeguard his health by making sure he gets a proper balance of vitamins. In particular, scientists have been concerned about the so-called "B" vitamins, of which they believed the American people have not been getting enough. After years of campaigning, however, they managed to set in motion a national program to add two of the B vitamins (known to scientists as B<sub>1</sub> and nicotinic acid) to flour and bread, thus hoping to compensate for the lack of these vitamins in the average man's diet.

But today, just as that program is getting under way, according to the March 22 issue of *Science News Letter*, a word of warning has been uttered by Dr. Agnes Fay Morgan, of the University of California. Having experimented along these lines with dogs, Dr. Morgan has concluded that in adding only two of the B vitamins to staple foods, the balance of the B vitamins may become upset, thus weakening, rather than strengthening, the health of many people.

Apparently there is no agreement within the ranks of the medical profession on this subject as yet. "Fellow scientists" the *News Letter* concludes, "will agree with Dr. Morgan that improvement of diets in all directions is desirable, but will point out that the results of the dog studies should be confirmed by different laboratories before they are applied to human diets."

## Army Shopping List

Defense expenditures are advancing so rapidly that a set of figures is stale almost before it can be added up. The Office of Production Management only recently announced that in the eight-month period between June 1, 1940, and January 31, 1941, the War and Navy Departments had let contracts for \$12,575,869,000 worth of war materials. But last week in Congress the way was being paved for the spending of another three and a half billion by the Navy, seven billion for the lend-lease program, and other billions for the rest of our gigantic defense effort.

These figures by themselves tax the imagination. As Donald M. Nelson, director of purchases in the Office of Production Management, said in a nationwide radio address last week: "It is hard to get an idea of the size of the program by looking at the big over-all figures. I could tell you, for instance, that we are spending two and one-quarter billion dollars on airplanes. But that doesn't create a picture either in your mind or in mine. We have never seen that many airplanes; that total is big, but it doesn't really tell us

very much." So he turned to other items to draw a picture of the program's size:

I think we can make it clearer if we take more homely illustrations. Take socks as an example. To date, our Army has bought 37,000,000 pairs of socks . . . (and) nearly 8,000,000 pairs of shoes. It has bought 1,400,000 mattresses, 1,600,000 beds and cots, 7,000,000 hats, 17,000,000 pairs of pants and 10,000,000 cotton khaki shirts. In the last four months, by the way, the Army has bought more woolen underwear than the entire country normally uses in one year.

Or, to get away from clothing—the Army to date has bought 113,000 motor trucks and 25,000 trailers. It has bought 49,000 radios



DONALD NELSON

and 106,000 telephones—and 144,000 miles of telephone wire and cable.

Then take the grocery bill. Every day our Army is buying about one million pounds of meat and meat products. Into that same daily market basket go rather more than 600,000 pounds of potatoes, half a million pounds of fresh fruit and \$50,000 worth of bread. Five hundred tons of fresh vegetables find their way to Army mess tables every day. And on top of all of these staple things there are more than 70 other kinds of foods which are bought weekly. . . .

## The Long Shadow

"Observe . . . the height to which the fellow's insolence has soared: he leaves you no choice of action or inaction; he blusters and talks big, according to all accounts; he cannot rest content with what he has conquered; he is always taking in more, everywhere casting his net around us, while we sit idle and do nothing. . . .

"His present prospects are not so bright or satisfactory as they seem and as a superficial observer might pronounce them; nor would he ever have provoked this war had he thought that he would be bound to fight himself. He hoped that on his first entry he would carry all before him, and he finds himself completely mistaken. This unforeseen result confounds and discourages him. . . . We must assume that (the recently subjugated nations) would prefer freedom and independence to slavery. They are not accustomed to acknowledge a master, and (he) by all accounts is a particularly harsh one. . . .

"That (he) has found men willing to fight against him, situated on his own frontiers,



powerful, and above all so determined that they regard any agreement with him as both delusive and fatal to their own country—this has all the appearance of a superhuman, a divine beneficence. So the time has come . . . to look to it that we do not prove more unfriendly to ourselves than circumstances have been, for we shall show ourselves the meanest of mankind, if we abandon . . . the very allies that fortune has raised for us and the chances she throws in our way.

"Surely it is obvious that he will not stop, unless someone stops him. . . . Do not forget that you can today choose whether you will fight there or whether he will fight here. . . ."

(These words, rearranged from an article by F. H. Cramer in the spring issue of *Foreign Affairs*, were uttered at various times between 355 and 351 B.C., by Demosthenes, the great orator of Athens. He was speaking of Philip V, of Macedon, whose armies crushed Athens and Thebes, and all the rest of Greece in 338 B.C.)



U. S. ARMY PHOTO  
RELEASING A HOMING PIGEON

## Homing Pigeons

In an era that boasts ingenious techniques in communication, the use of homing pigeons must surely appear out-of-date. Yet among the supplies to be furnished to Britain by this country under the lend-lease bill will be a number of these pigeons. The British are said to have an immediate need for 3,000 of them, for use by aviators whose airship radios may cease to function in the midst of battle and who may find it urgent to send messages back to the home bases.

In the last war, the *New York Herald Tribune* points out, homing pigeons were used by the tens of thousands by both sides, even during active combat at the front. Shortly after the outbreak of the present war, every country in Europe began to mobilize its supply of these birds and it is thought that about 100,000 pigeons are now enlisted in Europe's fighting services.

The homing pigeons are invaluable little messengers whose blind instincts surmount all perils. It is rarely that they do not get through to their home lofts. The speed of their travel, it is true, has often been exaggerated in the popular mind, for they do not usually exceed 50 miles an hour. But they are persistent birds with considerable staying power. In 1935, one of the American Army's pigeons was clocked in a flight from Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, to Chattanooga, Tennessee, a distance of 750 miles. The pigeon completed the flight in 15 hours, 39 minutes, and nine seconds.

## In Brief

Out on Mount Palomar in California, work is going forward on the installation of the new 200-inch telescope for the observatory. The instrument stands eight stories in height and weighs 520 tons, but it is so delicately adjusted that the pressure of a finger can move it. When completed, the telescope will permit man to peer farther into the skies than has ever been possible before.

For some time now, musical auto horns which play a few bars of familiar tunes have been on the market. With an eye to business, a coal company in Rochester, New York, has equipped its trucks with such horns—to play "Keep the Home Fires Burning."

Out near Enumclaw, Washington, the government is building a dam of "oven-baked" dirt across the White River. The reason for "cooking" the dirt is to reduce its moisture content and make it easier to pack tightly. Meanwhile, to keep the dam dry during construction, a giant umbrella, or tent, large enough to cover a football field and more, is being raised over the project. The covering measures 196 feet by 328 feet.

## Information Test Answers

### American History

1. (c) Vespucci. 2. (a) Balboa. 3. New Amsterdam. 4. (b) Salem, Massachusetts. 5. (d) North Carolina. 6. Augusta, Georgia; Jamestown, Virginia; Plymouth, Massachusetts; St. Augustine, Florida; St. Mary's, Maryland.

### Geography

1. (d) Thailand (Siam). 2. (a) Australia. 3. (c) Ontario. 4. (b) Portugal. 5. (b) The Philippines.